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ABSTRACT

This study explores the history of the position of dean of men to provide a greater understanding of college administration now and in the future. Over 50 years, the position of dean of men evolved from being a responsibility assumed by well-meaning faculty to a profession with numbers, eventually thousands, of officeholders. In the early 1900s, the early deans of men took the position that the "right" personal traits, interpersonal skills and a caring personality, would quality a man to be a dean. In contrast, early deans of women emphasized graduate training and a professional approach to the position almost from the beginning. Most successful deans of men in the early years of the profession saw the deanship as a calling more than an occupation. After World War II, as college enrollments increased dramatically and many male students returned form the war, deans of women were often replaced by male deans of students or vice presidents for student affairs. As universities increased in size, men continued to hold most of the deanships. The increase in educational technology would seem to favor the continuation of this trend. (Contains 30 references.) (SLD)

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The Rise and Demise of Deans of Men:
Years of Change and Transformation in Higher Education

Change is, most would agree, inevitable. Rapid changes in technology have created a flurry of prognostication and prediction about the future direction of higher education. The benefits and economics of delivering college degrees over the Internet, reaching students of ages within the comfort of their homes or offices is here. Institutions have been created based on the concept of a virtual university which exists more on- line than on campus. Even the most traditional of the brick and mortar institutions have blinked, adding technology in all forms, even to the point of requiring computers as mandatory equipment for entering students.

In the midst of the scramble to stay ahead or to catch up with the innovations in technology, distance learning, and new concepts of higher education, a question echoes in the ivy-covered halls. What will become of the human experience of college; the interactions and intimacies which so often define the life-long commitment of alumni to an institution, the dedication of faculty member to the classroom or laboratory or even the relationships between a town and its college, for some, a relationship dating back decades, even centuries in time? Will such relationships cease to exist or will they be transformed in new and unanticipated ways through technology and new forms of interaction? Is face-to-face interaction a requirement for advise, counsel, teaching, and group interaction?

There are strong opinions on both sides of the question. No one can say with any certainty what will emerge if and when the college experience permanently leaves the physical boundaries of the college campus. But it would be interesting to know how faculty and administrators who interact closely with students might transform themselves and their work to

accommodate the new technologies of the wired and the virtual campus. Unfortunately, most of the current research on the college experience has focused on the interactions between students, faculty, and staff within the current, physical environments of the traditional college campus (Astin, 1993; 1977; Kuh, Schuh, Whitt, and Associates, 1991. Pascarella & Terenzini, 1990). Some studies are forthcoming which examine the new world of the virtual campus but those studies are limited for the moment.

However, it may be possible to anticipate the future by looking backward., To think and see time as a stream of events, as Neustadt and May (1988) suggest in their Harvard seminars for policy makers, allows for the interpretation of the past as well as the present and provides an opportunity to project ahead into the future by following trends and patterns of behavior and activity. By viewing similar periods of significant change, we can anticipate changes in the not-too-distant future.

A perspective which may be somewhat analogous to the present tensions over high tech and low touch can be drawn from the turn of the 19th into the 20th century. At the time, many of the colleges and universities of the time were emerging from a past clouded by the Civil War into a new world dominated by the rapid rise of coeducation, the spread of public higher education through the new land grant colleges and universities, and the re-distribution of the curriculum through the advent of the elective system. Then as now, the rapid changes both inside and outside of higher education caused a great deal of concern and consternation.

New ideas and conceptualizations of higher education were everywhere, from William Rainey Harper's radical vision of a junior college to the melding of pubic concerns with private enterprise, as seen at Chicago, Stanford, Vanderbilt and other institutions. By the second decade

of the new century, campus life was further complicated by the rise of coeducation and the freedom of the newest form of transportation, the automobile. In this complex clash of innovation and rapid change, college and university presidents were desperate to gain control of their institutions, their finances, and especially their students. While they could manage students and money, students seemed most troubling. To manage them, college presidents appointed first deans to oversee the women students followed by deans of men.

A flurry of recent historical revisions have re-examined the deans of women (Bashaw, 1999; Nidiffer, 1999; Perkins, 1996; Schwartz, 1998; Schwartz, 1997). The literature of higher education has been enlarged and enriched by the re-examination of pioneering women, such as Alice Freeman Palmer, Marion Talbot, Lucy Diggs Slowe, Lois Kimball Mathews, Katherine Bowersox, and Agnes Ellen Harris. To a much lesser degree, the deans of men who co-existed with the early deans of women have escaped notice--- until now. By tracing the early deans, their emergence on college campuses, and the development of their profession, we gain greater understanding of the present day and perhaps glimpse some of the future in higher education administration.

Many of the women who were the first deans of women developed their organizational skills through membership in the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA) which became the American Association for University Women (AAUW). Founded in the 1880's, the ACA championed the rights of women in their quest for access to higher education and published many research studies to demonstrate the intellectual and physical capabilities of women to perform college-level work. Such studies were necessary in the late 1800's to counteract the widely circulated notion that women were too weak to survive the rigors of college spawned by

Edward Clarke's book, Sex in Education (1873).

As the number of deans of women increased in the early 1900's, they took up the mantle of research. Many deans of women were data-driven, documenting activities, conducting research, and maintaining a high level of professionalism as deans and often in concurrent faculty positions. Early deans of women encouraged graduate study and developed a department for deans of women at Teachers College in 1916; published their own academic journals, and even produced a book on the topic in 1915 (Schwartz, 1997). Pre-dating the deans of men, the deans of women developed a regional professional associations by 1903. A national association, the National Association of Deans of Women (NADW) was founded in 1916. Ironically, the latter day version of the NADW, the National Association for Women in Education (NAWE) was just disbanded (editor of Initiatives, 1999).

In contrast to expectations of men and women, it was the deans of men who celebrated the more affective side of the college experience. Early deans of men valued personality as a part of the deans' natural affinity for work with students. Deans of men saw the deanship as a calling, as a minister or priest might be called to the pulpit. Unlike deans of women, deans of men eschewed graduate study, research, and publication. They championed the notion that the best deans of men were "born, not made." For a man who was called to be a dean, graduate training was superfluous. For those who not destined for the position, any effort to teach them how to be a dean through a graduate program was a sham; a man cut out to be a dean carried the inherent skills he needed in his genes.

On first glance, it would appear that the deans of women paralleled the values of the academic world - - - research, data, graduate preparation and degrees. But when the positions of

dean of women and dean of men were dismantled after World War II, it was the deans of men, not the deans of women, who survived. Deans of men became the new deans of students, vice presidents for student personnel and chief administrators for student life. Deans of women slowly found themselves with fewer and fewer responsibilities and eventually, many simply retired, heart-broken and defeated. Even now, the vast majority of the upper administrative positions, even in student affairs, are held by men.

However, on closer inspection, the deans of men did not survive as deans of men, but through transformation into new forms of administration and new positions within rapidly changing institutions. Through an examination of the rise and seeming demise of the deans of men, we may understand more completely what happened to deans men and how their response to technological change determined their fate. By examining the past, we understand higher education more completely, gain a greater appreciation and understanding of our contemporary institutions, professions, and associations, and perhaps catch a glimpse of the future.

The Early Years of the Deans of Men

By the end of the 19th century, college enrollments in the United States had increased dramatically. Industrialization expanded; dependence on farming declined; and a college education emerged as a new route to success. As enrollments rose, so did the demand for more faculty and administrators. College administrators who could oversee the rapidly growing student presence on campus became especially critical (Bledstein, 1978; Veysey, 1965)

One of the first college presidents to respond to these changes was Charles Eliot at Harvard. Eliot sought a more efficient and effective administrative organization so he could manage his increasing work load. In 1890, Eliot announced the appointment of two members of

the Harvard faculty to be deans; one would attend to faculty concerns and the other would be a dean "for students" (Eliot, 1903).

Le Baron Russell Briggs, a professor of rhetoric, was Eliot's choice to be his dean for students. Briggs' natural ease with students had already made him a favorite of Harvard men. As dean, Briggs became a Harvard legend. Long lines of students would form outside Briggs' office, waiting patiently, at times into the evening, to seek his advice (Brown, 1936). Over a 40 year career, Briggs meant so much to so many Harvard graduates that at his retirement in 1930, he was presented with an additional pension, funded fully by contributions from former students (Brown, 1936).

Men like Briggs ushered in a new era in American higher education. Swelling enrollments at the turn of the 20th century brought many students to college who found the dual challenge of rigorous academic study and the many social freedoms overwhelming. Early deans of men like Thomas Clark at Illinois, Scott Goodnight at Wisconsin, Robert Rienow at Iowa; F. F. Bradshaw at North Carolina; and Briggs at Harvard, cast themselves into the role of big brother/ favorite uncle to the bewildered college men. Deans of men consciously acted *in loco parentis,* that is, in the absence of parents.

Like Briggs, most of the early deans of men were selected for the position because they had a natural affinity for working with students. Consequently, a dean's official behavior was as much a function of his personality as any set of rules or procedures. In most cases, the first deans had few, if any, guidelines for the role of dean; most early deans made up the role as they went along. Even as the number of deans of men expanded across the country, the dean's personality would remain a critical ingredient of professional preparation.

When Thomas Clark, a professor of rhetoric at Illinois, was named dean of men at the University of Illinois in 1909, he became the first man to carry the title,"dean of men." Clark's appointment was soon followed by others, especially at other Midwestern schools. Deans of women, by contrast, had been appointed as early as 1892 when Alice Freeman Palmer and Marion Talbot were named dean of women and assistant dean at the University of Chicago (Schwartz, 1997). Women were a new and troubling population for most college presidents, a fact which precipitated the appointment of deans for women. Male students were more a part of the natural order so deans for men were not appointed with the same urgency. Eventually, however, the appointment of a dean for men along with a dean for women simply made good administrative sense and balance on coeducational campuses.

No common training for deans of men existed in the 1900's. The position, dean of men, was new to the college campus. As a result, one of the first tasks facing a new dean was to write his own job description. Thomas Clark of Illinois described his professional philosophy as dean or a "disciplinary officer" who was "[to] keep closely in touch and sympathy with student life and student activities. [The dean] must be willing to praise the virtuous, to commend the worthy as well as to pass judgement on the derelict" (NADM, 1928, p.36). Few deans got definitive answers about their responsibilities from college presidents or trustees. Stanley Coulter, the first dean of men at Purdue, described his own predicament as follows.

> When the Board of Trustees elected me Dean of Men, I wrote to them very respectfully and asked them to give me the duties of the Dean of Men. They wrote back that they did not know what they were but when I found out to let them know. I worked all the rest of the year trying to find out. I discovered that every unpleasant task that the president or the

> faculty did not want to do was my task. I was convinced that the Dean of Men's office was intended as the dumping ground of all unpleasant things. (NADM, 1928, p.37)

For many deans of men, discipline was the most visible part of their job. Violations of college rules among male students from the 1890's to the 1930's ran the gamut from cutting classes and cheating on exams to gambling, drinking, and playing cards. Even riding in automobiles was subject to supervision. Thomas Clark even chronicled his experiences in a book, Discipline and the Derelict : Being a Series of Essays on Some of Those Who Tread the Green Carpet (1928).

Most of the successful deans relied on intuitive response rather than a strict interpretation of the rules and regulations. Robert Rienow, dean of men at the University of Iowa noted, "For thirteen years I kidded myself that I was not a disciplinarian. But in the last few years I have learned that I was [always] pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for someone else" (NADM, 1928, p.28).

As social monitors for young men, many of the early deans were proponents of what has been called "muscular Christianity", a pedagogy championed by the headmasters at several elite, Eastern boarding schools. At the core of muscular Christianity was the belief that rough and tumble play combined with strict discipline built moral character and civic pride. Teddy Roosevelt, both as president and as a man, exemplified the muscular Christianity philosophy (Saveth, 1988). Like the headmasters, deans of men believed that most boys were good at heart but clearly benefitted from stern and even-handed guidance offered by older, wiser men. Exposure to the rigors of the world while still in the protective environment of college was a natural part of a young man's education. The goal was to teach young men to be responsible,

honorable, and conscious of the needs of others.

A National Organization

A professional association for deans of men was slow to form. In fact, the first formal gathering of the deans of men was born out of frustration rather than a deliberate plan. Scott Goodnight, dean of men at the University of Wisconsin, arranged a meeting of his fellow deans in the Fall of 1919 because he found his attempts to communicate through letters, telegraph wires, and phone calls slow and ineffective.

> So without authorization from anybody, I wired Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, Indiana and Michigan to come on over. The idea of founding a permanent organization or creating a professional association was the farthest thing from my mind when I invited the boys to come in for a weekend so that we might discuss our common tribulations more intimately. It was after the first meeting had proved so pleasant and stimulating that the proposal was made to repeat it. (NADM, 1934, p. 30)

A group of six deans braved the mid-January Wisconsin weather to join Goodnight in Madison. They included deans from Iowa, Minnesota, Syracuse, and Iowa State Teachers College. Professor Strauss of Michigan, chair of the Student Welfare committee, attended as Michigan had no dean of men. After the Madison meeting, Strauss was so impressed that on his return, he recommended "a dean of men be appointed as soon as possible" (NADM, 1934, p. 32).

Minutes taken at this historic first meeting recorded that,

> the following topics were considered at one or various times: l) Attitude toward major activities, 2) Fraternity initiations, 3) Fraternity finances, 4) The Warner system of

fraternity management, 5) Relations of students and landlords, 6) Classroom attendance and scholarship, 7) Credit for military work, 8) Student self-government. (NADM, 1934, p. 33).

A second meeting was held a year later in Urbana, Illinois, on February 20 and 21, 1920. This time, Goodnight extended invitations to deans from Washington, Washington State, and Kentucky as well as the Midwest schools, Minnesota, Iowa, Michigan, Syracuse, Indiana, Iowa State, Grinnell College (Iowa), Purdue, and Pennsylvania. Thomas Clark informed Goodnight in a letter that President Judson of the University of Chicago had promised he would send "one of his deans." Despite the increased number of invitations, only eight deans attended the 1920 meeting. The group included Clark and his assistant; Edmondson of Indiana; Rietz of Iowa State; Melcher of Kentucky; Strauss of Michigan; Nicholson of Minnesota; Coulter of Purdue and Goodnight of Wisconsin (NADM, 1928). An executive committee of three was appointed to plan the time and location of future conferences for the group which now called itself the National Association of Deans of Men (NADM,1928).

In 1934, Scott Goodnight recalled the tenor of the first meetings as follows:

The institution of deans of men was really new in this country. There were very few of us, and we did not know of others. We were trying to educate each other as effectively as we could. [What was important was] the smallness of the circle and the intimacy with which we laid our hearts bare to each other . . . we had been through the great demoralization of the war [WWI] and we were trying to help effect reconstruction in the universities. (NADM, 1934, p. 55)

As the senior officeholder among the deans, Thomas Arkle Clark was seen as a role model amongst his peers. A gifted conversationalist and speaker, Clark attributed his long and successful career as a dean of men to his childhood experiences.

> . . . [I was] the youngest child of seven, an adopted child, . . .suddenly, without any warning at all, my father died. . . I had at once the responsibility of being the head of the house, and looking after Mother, who was at that time sixty-five years of age. I had to run the farm. I had to do everything . . . At seventeen I had run the farm two years. Mother was a very sensible woman; she gave me the responsibility; I made the decisions; . . . I think that responsibility was one of the things which prepared my soul for the job I had to fill afterwards [dean of men], as much as anything that ever came to me. (NADM, 1934, p.102)

Like many young men of his time, Clark had left the family farm in search of new career opportunities in college. He had intended to be a "newspaper man," but instead, his first job after graduation was as principal of a school of 500 students located in "the slum district of the town. [Populated by] children of the saloon keepers and the prostitutes of the town and all colors. . . . They all told me I would be run out in a week and I thought maybe I would."(NADM, 1928, p. 103). Surviving his principalship, Clark welcomed the chance to return to the University of Illinois in 1901 to teach rhetoric.

Like Briggs at Harvard, Clark had been very popular among the undergraduate men at Illinois long before his official appointment as dean of men in 1909. At the annual meetings of the deans of men, advice from senior deans like Thomas Clark quickly became a source of

training and education for, young men who aspired to be deans of men themselves as well as those new to the job. Minutes from the NADM conferences between 1921-1931 are flush with stories and anecdotes told by the experienced deans present. These oral histories became a primary source for defining the role, function, and character of deans of men over the next 25 years.

Personality and the Dean

As the NADM met annually in the 1920's, a shared belief among the deans of men grew into a standard of professional practice. The deans of men were convinced that the most important skills needed to be a dean of men were interpersonal skills. Most of the successful early deans of men had an intuitive sense of how to work with students. As a result, in lieu of any standards for training or any form of education, the early deans relied on skills they learned on the job and from each other. As Stanley Coulter remarked, "it is utterly impossible to tell what the function of the Dean of Men may be. He is a personality, not an officer"(NADM, 1928, p. 38).

As a group, the deans of men who called themselves the National Association of Deans of Men were convinced that graduate education as championed by the deans of women was pointless. If a man did not possess the character traits necessary for the job, graduate school would not help. Instead, young men who wished to be deans of men were encouraged to apprentice themselves to a dean of men and "learn by doing." Those who were called to the position of dean would learn quickly while those men who were not suited to be a dean would be weeded out.

As a group, deans of men were also against any "artificial substitution or process" (NADM, 1931, p.48) which, in their opinion, dehumanized the collegiate experience. In particular, the

deans were opposed to the new personality inventories and testing conducted with groups of students. It was through person-to-person interactions with individual students and in small groups that a dean of men could be most effective. Testing and categorizing students were seen as insensitive and mechanical approaches. Students learned best from the challenge and support of a strong, even-handed, and personalized dean of men.

Under the proper supervision of the faculty and a good dean of men, students learned about themselves. Students challenged in the proper manner would grow socially, morally, and spiritually as well as intellectually during their college years, in the manner of muscular Christianity. Accordingly, the experience and accumulated wisdom necessary to be a good dean could not be achieved through any sort of graduate training. Sitting in class in a graduate program was not equivalent to the experience of working directly with students in the company of an experienced dean of men.

These attitudes put the deans of men squarely opposite the professional philosophy adopted by the early deans of women. Deans of women embraced the concept and professional benefits of graduate training early in the growth and development of their profession. Many, if not most, of the early deans of women, were faculty members or had earned a baccalaureate degree. As women, the deans were eager to be seen as equal to men in terms of academic prestige and competence. From their perspective, the deans of women saw graduate training and degrees as a means of achieving professional standing among male faculty and administrators (Nidiffer, 1999; Schwartz, 1997). At the urging of many deans of women who took courses at the Teachers College at Columbia University, a complete graduate program and an academic department for training deans of women were established at Teachers College, Columbia University in 1916.

The University of Wisconsin soon followed suit. The first professional association for deans of women was formed in 1903, some 18 years ahead of the deans of men (Schwartz, 1997).

Despite the precedent set by the deans of women, the deans of men, individually and at the NADM meetings, reiterated their steadfast belief that graduate preparation and training were antithetical to the work of the true dean of men. Graduate education and training promoted a mechanical approach to working with students which made a sham of the dean's work. Stanley Coulter of Purdue lamented,

> . . . the first time I met with the Deans of Men was at Illinois [1920] and we discussed the same problems as now . . . We had little of mechanical devices for solving these problems. Today [1934] we have so surrounded ourselves with mechanical records that we may have ceased being personalities and have become machines (NADM, 1934, p. 40).

The "tardy sons of Hoyle": Discipline and the Deans

Deans of men and women did share one common concern. Both groups feared that students and faculty would see them only as "disciplinary officers." These concerns arose from the very real fact that deans served in many other capacities besides campus discipline. But discipline was the most public of the tasks of the dean as in "now you'll have to see the Dean!"

But deans of men, in particular, saw disciplinary measures as yet another chance to be creative and educational in their intuitive approach to their work. At the 1928 NADM meeting, Dean Robert Rienow of Iowa explained how he had responded when several of the men's dormitories at Iowa had become "a rendezvous for drunks and all night gambling games" (NADM, 1928, p. 40). Rienow warned the men that ". . . these [activities] [will] lose the confidence of the people of the state." Through counseling and a bit of coercion, Rienow

convinced the young men to ". . . agree to get rid of intoxicants, gambling and women and talk the problems over with me" (p.41). In short, instead of expulsion, Rienow found promise in the young men of Iowa who now had little choice but to cooperate and change their behavior.

Rienow's story exemplified two important principles. One was the superficiality of believing that deans were only disciplinary officers. Clearly, Rienow demonstrated his skills as both a teacher and a role model for the young men, not just as a disciplinarian. A second principle was the considerable finesse Rienow showed in his handling of the situation. Rienow demonstrated skills which the NADM collective had long argued could not be taught in graduate school. Rienow had used his experience and intuitive understanding of young men, not scientific or mechanical devices, to analyze and then resolve a potentially catastrophic problem.

As dean, Rienow had taught a group of young men on his campus to develop a "group consciousness and pride of ownership" (NADM, 1928, p. 41). He had achieved his goal of changing errant student behavior while at the same time serving the university and the local community. Conceivably, Rienow had also avoided the use of severe disciplinary measures such as expulsion nor did he create undue and embarrassing publicity for the university, all in all, a good day's work.

But even exemplary deans like Rienow were tested to the limit in the 1920's. After the horrors of World War I, American society experienced an unprecedented period in the evolution of American higher education.. For the first time, men and women were together on campuses in near equal numbers. A critical mass of young people were studying, living, and interacting with each other--- a circumstance which had never occurred before. The "youth generation" was a term coined by Life magazine in a feature story about campus life in 1926 (Fass, 1977).

Unmarried, often unchaperoned, and unrestrained, young men and women together on coeducational campuses for the first time meant new tasks and greater challenges for deans of men and women alike.

By 1925, women accounted for 47% of all undergraduate students in America (Graham, 1978). Women quickly assumed equal status with the young men. As a young woman at Ohio State wrote in the campus paper, "Are we as bad as we are painted? We are. We are not young innocents--- We are smoking, dancing like Voodoo devotees, dressing decollete, 'petting' and drinking. We do these things because we honestly enjoy the attendant physical sensations" (Fass, 1977, p.307). Photographs in Life magazine showed young people dancing wildly to "Negro-influenced jazz music" (p.313). Athletics, alcohol, and automobiles led to sexual freedoms such as heavy petting on dates; even sexual intercourse was permissible if the couple were engaged.

Even small, private campuses felt the impact of the change. At the 1928 NADM meeting, William Alderman, dean of men at Beloit College, with tongue firmly in his cheek, claimed that the public perception of a college campus was of a

> . . . heterogony of monstrosities - bobbed haired daughters of Satan in their early nicotines; tardy sons of Hoyle who have an aversion for the hardy sons of toil; emulous coeds who indulge in such fatuous anachronisms as breaking the endurance record for the tango; . . . The daughters of culture have married the sons of prosperity and are sending their offspring to universities and colleges because it is fashionable, convenient and prudential. (NADM, 1928, p.43)

Despite the challenges, most deans agreed with Dean Blaney of Carleton College who argued that "Ideality and frugality still haunt college halls, and . . . students continue to bring

their hopes and poems to their deans and professors." Therefore, Blaney argued, a "dean of men [must continue to] . . . be all things to all men" (1928, p. 20). Blaney urged that social and disciplinary issues were too great a focus of the dean's time and energy. "College deans . . . should form . . . a part of the shock-troops in the great struggle against inefficiency and superficiality in [American] higher education"(NADM, 1928, p. 21).

Despite the raucous nature of the college campus in the 1920's, the deans of men remained firm in their belief that deans were best prepared through on the job training and selection by natural order. At the 1931 NADM meeting, Joseph Bursley, dean of men at Michigan, reiterated the common theme, "I am afraid that I am not in sympathy with the idea of any course of training for the position of Dean of Men. . . . The best and most successful Deans of Men are born and not made"(NADM, 1931, p.103). But, Bursely added, "there is one place where I believe preparedness is absolutely essential to the success of a dean of men-- that is in the selection of a wife. The very best preparation [a dean] can have is to marry the right woman. If she is the right kind, a dean's wife does just as much to earn his salary as he does, and if she is not, he might as well quit before he starts."(p. 103).

Change amongst the Deans

F. F. Bradshaw, dean of men at the University of North Carolina, expressed a slightly different opinion. "While deans were born and not made, they might be made better by preparation"(NADM, 1931, p. 108). Bradshaw's opinion brought a new slant to the typical pronouncements at the NADM meetings. Bradshaw urged the deans to consider that some training might well improve the quality of advisement and counseling. He also anticipated new trends in the field, noting that "the deanship stands at a fork in the road . . . [the future of the dean

lies in becoming] administrative coordinators of . . . the whole individual student and of the group life of students" (p. 108).

F. F. Bradshaw was an active participant in the new "personnel movement" which emerged from the social efficiency movement of the early 1900's. Social efficiency had also spawned time and motion studies, efficiency experts, and the roots of vocational guidance. The personnel movement was the brainchild of Walter Dill Scott, psychologist and president of Northwestern University in the 1920's. Scott proposed that increased efficiencies and better job performance could be achieved by categorizing employees by traits, habits, personality type, mechanical, and physical abilities.

One of the first applications of Scott's theories in a practical setting was with draftees during World War I.. From those early experiments came the Army occupational classifications. After World War I, Scott applied a modification of the same techniques to college student populations at Northwestern. As the movement expanded, it became known as the "student personnel" movement.

Bradshaw was an early convert. He believed that there might be real value in the psychological testing, interviewing, record-keeping, and "objective" measurement of student personalities as promoted by the personnel movement. But in the 1930's, as they had in the 1920's, a majority of deans held to the standard that the best dean was the dean with an innate intuition and the right personality, not scientific measurements and artificial devices.

In 1931, at the same NADM meeting where Bradshaw spoke, Fred Turner, successor to Thomas Clark at Illinois, reported on a survey of deans of men he had conducted. Turner noted that, "[it is the] general opinion that there is no satisfactory training [to be a dean], at least from

the academic standpoint, for the simple reason that the best deans are born that way and not trained" (NADM, 1931, p. 108).

Five years later, at the 1936 meeting, Turner had replicated his 1931 survey. This time, he found very different responses. When Turner asked, "What is your reaction to the statement that a Dean of Men is born and not made?" in 1936, 75 deans agreed that some graduate training could be useful. Turner also identified 22 courses related to the work of a dean available at Teachers College, Columbia University. Other schools, including Northwestern, the University of Chicago, and the University of Wisconsin also offered summer institutes for aspiring deans.

Despite these survey results, Dean Harold Speight, of Swarthmore, suggested that, ". . . while there is no specific direction upon which we can expect general agreement in preparing men to serve as Deans and Advisers of Men, the greatest hope lies in the development of [the] profession. We should build up the profession through apprenticeships, and maintain . . . a list of young men . . . now in training" (NADM, 1936, p.49). However, even such a seemingly innocuous suggestion met with debate. Dean Massey of the University of Tennessee countered,

"I do not think that I shall ever give to the Association of Deans of Men the statement that I need an assistant. I may sit down and write to some of these men . . . in confidence, but I certainly wouldn't give it out where it would be broadcast - because a man who has everything on paper to make a good Dean of Men [may have] nothing at all in his clothes that makes him a good Dean of Men." (NADM, 1936, p. 50-51). So the "born, not made" dean remained the preferred choice of the moment in 1936.

Animosities

When Francis F. Bradshaw first argued for professional preparation in 1931, he stood alone. It took several years before a majority of his fellow deans concurred, even in part, with his

point of view. The collective belief in personality was firmly entrenched. It is clear that some deans of men resisted graduate education because that was what the deans of women did. These animosities between the deans of men and women appear in various forms over time. However, it is clear that the feud between deans of men and deans of women was pursued by both sides with equal vigor.

How these animosities developed is not precisely clear. In fact, the feud may have started with antagonistic public statements made by deans of women. A publication titled, Survey of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities (1931) published as a supplement to the annual Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education included a section titled, "The Office of the Dean of Men," which read as follows,

> . . . in marked contrast with the clear-cut enumeration of the duties of the dean of women and definition of her functions, the deans of men are apparently groping to discover just what their justification for existence may be. The most illuminating material is found in the proceedings of the National Association of Deans of Men. Here is evident a very masculine sentimentalizing of the work and of the relations with students, which vanished from the discussions held by deans of women a score of years ago. (p.416)

The "Disappearing Dean of Men"

Debates on the benefits of graduate education, some graduate education, or none raged on during the 1930's. For the deans of men, the argument almost became a moot point after the NADM conference in 1937. At that conference, the keynote speaker, W. H. Cowley predicted the end of the profession of dean of men.

W. H. Cowley was professor of psychology and director of the Bureau of Educational

Research at Ohio State University. Cowley had chaired the American Council on Education's Committee on Student Welfare over the past year and the committee just published a monograph titled, "The Student Personnel Point of View," a document which would change the office of the dean of men forever. As the keynote speaker at the 1937 NADM meeting held at the University of Texas, Cowley titled his speech, "The Disappearing Dean of Men." Cowley's main thesis was that in the "modern era" of the late 1930s, the splintering of student personnel functions between the deans of men and other administrative areas was an obstacle to effective and comprehensive work with students. As a result, the need for a separate office of dean of men (or dean of women) would no longer exist.

As might be expected, most of the deans of men disagreed with Cowley. But it was clear that a battle for the future of the dean of men as a campus position was underway. Lines had been drawn, sides taken, and futures were clearly at stake.

Two years later at the 1939 NADM meeting, F. F. Bradshaw of North Carolina echoed his speech from 1931, " I am convinced that the personnel point of view . . . is here to stay . . . and it seems to me . . . it is essential to consider a meeting at least every other year with the personnel and guidance associations"(NADM, 1939, p. 30). A few deans, Fred Turner among them, were dispatched on behalf of the NADM to meet with other representatives, including deans of women, to form coordinating agencies with other like-minded associations, e.g, vocational guidance and placement organizations. But overall, the deans of men, as an organization, stood firm in their conviction to maintain the status quo and not become "personnel workers".

The War Years- 1940s

A decision on the future of the deans of men was delayed for the remainder of the 1930's

and well beyond. The trauma of the Depression followed by the national mobilization to fight World War II delayed any major decisions in higher education. But when World War II ended, American higher education changed forever.

The massive infusion of veterans into college after the war caused a new demand for more, not fewer, administrators than ever before. More and more students meant a greater demand for accountability, disbursement of fees and financial assistance, e.g. the G.I. Bill, more student housing, and student activities and organizations. Consequently, deans of men or similar administrative positions were suddenly in high demand. Increases in the registration numbers for the National Deans of Men meetings in the late 1940's were directly related to the increases in students and the subsequent increases in administrators on many colleges and universities after World War II.

A record-setting registration of 164 members occurred during the 20th anniversary celebration of the founding of the National Association of Deans of Men held in 1938 at Madison, Wisconsin. Only 87 members attended the conference held in 1939 in Roanoke, Virginia. In 1941, attendance was again over 100 when the deans met in Cincinnati. Registrations peaked in 1949, when 217 people attended the dean's conference held in Highland Park, Illinois.

But just as registrations and memberships in the association reached new highs, other trends incubated before World War II were on a track which would coincide with the rising student enrollments. Most notable among these trends was the renewed emphasis on the "student personnel" movement. D.H. Gardner, dean of men at the University of Akron, and former secretary and president of the NADM in the 1930's, addressed the 1944 NADM conference. Gardner urged the deans to assume the mantle of leadership to direct postwar educational

programs.

> The number one problem for deans to attack is --- the establishment of a student personnel program in all its ramifications. . . Many viewed with alarm the rise of personnel experts and technicians. Lengthy discussions have occurred . Some felt the Dean's work was being 'stolen' by scientific 'nuts.' Others thought there was no need for individualized counseling. Whatever the past has been, I am convinced that a well rounded personnel program will be an absolute "must' for all institutions of higher education. (NADM, 1944, p.79)

As Gardner predicted, personnel programs came to the fore and change did occur. Unprecedented college enrollments reshaped American higher education and soon, the work of the deans of men. While some among the deans still wanted to argue that the best deans were born, not made, it was an idea whose time had passed. Unprecedented enrollments, a demand for greater bureaucracy and administrative efficiency, and the momentum of the student personnel movement overtook and then overwhelmed the deans of men. The kindly, caring dean of men who singlehandedly dispensed advice, wisdom and when needed, discipline, from his cluttered office was soon to be a relic of the past.

At the NADM conference held in St. Louis in 1951, following two years of rancorous debate, a motion was passed to change the name of the National Association of Deans of Men to the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators. With the organization re-named to reflect a new perspective and new philosophies, the old time dean of men began to disappear.

An Analytic Summary

As higher education grew exponentially in the post-WWII era, the philosophies and practices of Thomas Arkle Clark, L. B. Briggs, Scott Goodnight, and other deans of men were overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of students on campuses. As the first deans of men had feared, students became lost as the intimacy of small, turn-of- the century colleges mushroomed into large, impersonal bureaucracies of higher education (Astin, 1975). In the 1960's, faculty and deans of students were overwhelmed by the increasing numbers of students. Even the best intentioned dean could not hope to meet address the needs and interests of so many students.

Eventually, student frustrations led to anger then to disorder and rebellion. As Astin (1975) and others have noted, a contributing cause of the student disruptions and demonstrations during the '60's and '70's was the pent-up frustration and anger students felt in response to the large, complex, and impersonal universities. While the fear and loathing students felt toward compulsory military conscription, the unpopular war in Vietnam, and civil rights issues were the catalysts for student disruption, a culture of insensitive bureaucracy in increasingly large universities exacerbated the problem.

It was a combination of the social efficiency and vocational guidance movements which emerged at the turn of the 20th century that led to the development of the personnel movement in industry. When the same models were applied to colleges, beginning with Northwestern University in the 1920's, the effort was renamed the "student" personnel movement. As the deans of men had warned, the personnel movement presumed large numbers, be it factory workers or students at a university. Deans of men like Clark and Goodnight would have feared the changes found on the college campuses in the 1960's. No dean could keep an "open door" when the number of students multiplied into the thousands. Instead, being a dean meant managing

numbers, not individuals.

Deans of women had embraced the cognitive, scientific perspective offered by the "student personnel" movement early in the 1920's. Some of the most influential members of the National Association of Deans of Women, especially the faculty at Teachers College at Columbia, were staunch advocates of the "personnel movement." Deans of women championed data collection, scientific analysis, and a deliberate and conscientious research agenda. Deans of women had also argued for and helped create graduate programs as early as 1915. In contrast, the early deans of men embraced a more female perspective which celebrated a personal and personality-driven approach to their work with students.

Seen in retrospect, the rationale for these role reversals makes more sense. Deans of women saw the student personnel movement as a means to even the playing field for women, both as students and as deans. If a student personnel philosophy were adopted, as even W. H. Cowley himself noted in 1937 (NADM, 1937), both men and women could compete equally for positions as deans of students and vice presidencies. The logic was clear. Whoever was best suited for the position as coordinator, dean, or vice president of student personnel services should get the job; sex was not a key issue.

But the logic of the late 1930's fell apart in the late 1940's. It was the deans of men, and men only, who were promoted to be the deans and vice presidents for student personnel services, not the deans of women. Scientific training, research, graduate degrees, the high scholarship of the NADW Journal , none of these well-established standards helped the deans of women gain the promotions and advancement they desired and deserved. Gender did matter after all and it mattered a lot on college and university campuses.

In the past, war had expanded the educational opportunities for American women. Women were able to gain footholds on college campuses when men went to war, beginning with the Civil War, and continuing through World Wars I and II. Ironically, it was the common military experience of war and the overwhelming male presence on college campuses after WWII which restored an almost exclusively "male" college culture to American higher education, a condition which had not existed since the antebellum years. These changes soon became an anathema, a form of excommunication, for the deans of women.

As Chafe (1972) has described the cultural shift, America wanted desperately to return to a state of "normalcy" after WWII--- often at any cost. A sort of social conservatism swept the country after World War II which demanded that men be in positions of leadership, not women. Rosie the Riveter was a valued heroine while men were at war. But when the men came home, Rosie was no longer needed. Women were expected to return to the domestic duties of home and family. Deans of women met the same fate.

In post-WWII America, gender became the trump card. Unprecedented enrollment surges in higher education due to the G.I. Bill helped drive down the percentage of women in college to new lows, as few as 23% in the 1950s (Graham, 1978). On male-dominated campuses, the need for deans for the women disappeared along with the female students. A need for male authority and the demand for male leadership increased. So it was that the new generation of deans of men, not women, were promoted to positions of authority and leadership, often without regard to academic preparation or degrees. Deans of women, many of whom held advanced or terminal degrees, were ostracized.

Not only did gender prevail, so did the bureaucratic efficiencies of the personnel

movement. Large scale bureaucracies, such as the military, had won the war. Personnel procedures were now very familiar to most of the former soldiers and could easily be applied to higher education as they had been in the military, business, industry. Accordingly, the National Association for Deans of Men founded in 1921 became the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators in 1951. And in turn, deans of men became deans of student personnel.

Deans of women, on the other hand, became strangers in a strange land. It was difficult, if not impossible, for the deans of women to persist in an environment where men were again the dominant gender and maleness prevailed. On small, private college campuses where time often stood still, some offices of deans of women and men persisted into the 1970's. But on most public college and university campuses, the offices and titles ceased to exist. In a final irony, in the 1970's, as coeducation and Title IX drew an increasingly equal proportion of men and women to campuses, more men, serving as deans of students and vice presidents for student affairs, became responsible for women students than ever before in American higher education.

Conclusion

Over a period of 50 years, deans of men evolved from a small contingent of well-meaning faculty to a profession with hundreds and then thousands of officeholders. In the 1900's, the early deans of men embraced a sentiment that the "right sort of man," one who possessed innate interpersonal skills and organizational talents, had a good heart, and a caring personality might be a dean of men, a counselor, and a friend to young men in college. The first deans were faculty members in English, political science, biology, and other disciplines. They were men who had a natural affinity for working with young men. They were deans like L. B. Briggs at Harvard,

Thomas Clark at Illinois, Scott Goodnight at Wisconsin, Stanley Coulter at Purdue, and Robert Rienow at Iowa.

Through the National Association of Deans of Men, the deans carried on professional and personal conversations and established standards for their work. They identified common practices and a means to recruit and train new members of the profession. In the 1930's, they adopted a philosophy of practice which included varied aspects of psychology, sociology, and organizational behavior mixed in with a strong and dominant belief that personality and intuition should guide their work with students. The early deans of men approached their work with a strong sense of compassion and paternalism. Most successful early deans of men saw their profession as a calling more than an occupation.

From the 1900s through the 1950's at national conferences, in papers and presentations, the deans displayed a strong resistance toward any attempts to "de-humanize" the work of the dean. In particular, the deans of men resisted the push to the cognitive practices represented by the "personnel movement." Deans of men also resisted graduate education, preferring the personal nature of apprenticeships and "on the job training" to the classroom preparation and graduate degrees advanced by the deans of women. The deans argued that graduate education also meant the loss of their personalized approach to working with students. Although rarely stated, to have accepted graduate training as the primary means of entry to the profession would have also meant a loss of control over their profession for the deans of men.

After World War II, as a result of the G. I. Bill, campus enrollments doubled and tripled, in some cases growth occurred within months, in others, it spanned a few years. In the 1950's, public universities and colleges rushed to erect new buildings, hire new faculty, and create the

necessary administrative infrastructure to serve the overwhelming numbers of students. As these expansions continued, deans of women were slowly replaced, given new assignments, or encouraged to retire as their duties were taken over by deans of students and vice presidents for student affairs who were invariably men.

Newly titled deans and vice presidents for student personnel struggled to keep pace with surging enrollments, changes in student life and lifestyles, and an increasingly business-like atmosphere on campus. As the campus climate changed, many deans of students, as well as those aspiring to be the office, began to pursue the graduate education and training their predecessors, the deans of men, had resisted for so long. In fact, it was more and more the case that a graduate degree, preferably a doctorate, was perceived as critical for those men eager to gain or maintain a position of leadership in the new educational bureaucracy. (In a final twist of fate, it was often women who anchored the most respected graduate programs in higher education administration. Among them --- Esther Lloyd-Jones and Ruth Strang at Teachers College, Columbia; Kate Huevner Mueller and Elizabeth Greenleaf at Indiana; and Melvene Hardee at Florida State.)

These trends continued into the 1960's as universities became "multiversities,"a term popularized by Clark Kerr, architect of the multi-layered system of higher education in California. Expansion continued as children of the veterans of the '40's and '50's came to campus. More buildings, faculty, and layers of bureaucracy were added to address another unprecedented wave of students. More students were enrolled, more classes taught, more tuition collected, and more degrees conferred than ever before, creating an educational industry of unprecedented size and capacity.

After their near extinction on the college campuses of the post-WWII era, women began to regain their proportion of college enrollments in the '60's and '70's. But it was a slow advance. By the 1980's, women's enrollments had equaled those of men. In the 1990's, women students finally surpassed men in terms of absolute enrollment on a national level. But no deans of women were in office to welcome the women to campus and celebrate their inclusion. They were gone and soon forgotten in the lore and legend of higher education.

Today, women's studies programs on the academic side and women's centers on the social end, have become the substitute voices for the deans of women. More women faculty can now be found on most campuses and more women are deans and vice-presidents. But the total proportion of women who hold upper administrative offices on college and university campuses is still quite small. Even in the area of higher education administration where women had hoped to make the greatest impact in the 20th century, student services, women aspiring to be deans or vice presidents have been limited by the campus culture which still values men as leaders.

As Neustadt and May (1988) suggested, we can learn much about the past and present, and even glimpse the future by tracing the trends and patterns of history. In the large bureaucracy that is modern higher education, a woman's voice was, is, and may continue to be a lonely cry in the academic wilderness. Through an examination of the rise and demise, or transformation, of the deans of men from the 1890's to the present, it is clear why the numbers, even in the 21st century, still favor the (deans of) men.

Technology, despite the arguments which depict it as an equalizer, tends to favor those in positions of power, prestige, and wealth. More men than women gain degrees in computer science and related fields (NCES, 2000) including engineering and the sciences. Access will

favor those with the resources to buy or borrow the latest computers and equipment. Even telephone access remains limited in many areas, despite the ubiquitous cell phone phenomena. The conditions of higher education must be sensitive to the needs and aspirations of an increasingly diverse world community or the technology revolution will benefit only the few, not the many.

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